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MERTON COLLEGE AND CANADA.

—
BY HENRY SCADDING, D.D.
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READ BEFORE THE CANADIAN INSTITUTE, JANUARY 11, 1873, AS THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS
FOR THE SESSION 1872-3.

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MERTON COLLEGE AND CANADA.

BY HENRY SCADDING, D.D.

Read before the Canadian Institute, January 11, 1873, as the President's Address for the Session 1872-3.

During my stay for some weeks at Oxford, a few years since, I was led to take a peculiar interest in Merton College, in that University; and had circumstances rendered it in any way advisable for me to become an incorporated member of the University, I should certainly have asked to have my name entered on the boards of Merton. As it was, the minor privilege of *admissio comitatis causâ* sufficed for every purpose I had in view, and *that* did not require the selection of a college as a quasi-home or house, but gave, during the remainder of life, whenever resident in Oxford, without any such limitation, all the advantages of degree and rank, the franchise alone excepted, which my position in the sister University of Cambridge could claim for me there. And I cannot refrain from confessing that even the semblance of affiliation with ancient and venerable Oxford which a mere *admissio comitatis causâ* creates—formally conferred by the Vice-Chancellor in the Convocation-house, and duly enregistered, and printed in the Calendar of the day—was vastly enjoyed by me as a small incident of romance occurring unexpectedly in one's experience. But more than this, the positive benefits accruing from the privilege were found to be of very great value. Besides giving the right and the pleasure on any occasion of assuming in the

University the academic dress, it secured a fixed place in public assemblages, and opened the way with extra facility to libraries and museums, as well as to the lecture-rooms, in several instances, of professors of preëminent ability and world-wide fame. And, as I have said, the boon is good for the remainder of one's days.

I need not say, I endeavoured to avail myself to the utmost of the rich and varied privileges with which, for a period all too brief, I found myself surrounded.

In respect of area covered by buildings and in regard to external grandeur, Merton College cannot compare with Christ Church, All Souls, New College, Balliol, and perhaps other Colleges in the University of Oxford. But no College in the University matches Merton in severe venerableness of aspect, or in the extent, I think, to which, in its general outline, it has retained unaltered the visible embodiment of the ideas of its several very early architects.

Its entrance gateway, bearing the statues of Henry III. and Walter de Merton, founder of the College; the two diminutive courts or quadrangles first traversed inside; the low vaulted passage leading from one to the other of them; the east window of the chapel and the massive square tower seen just beyond the gable; the steep slopes of the Treasury-roof, made fireproof by plates of rough ashlar instead of slate; finally, the quaint lights of the Library along the walls, and rising above the eaves of the roof on the south and west sides of the third court; all at first sight stir the imagination very strongly and stamp themselves indelibly on the memory.

Of the Library just named—its internal air and aspect—I desire especially to speak to you for a moment, such a surprise and delight was it to myself when I first entered it, either from not having been previously aware of its existence, or else from never having fallen in with any striking description of it.

It is supposed to be at the present day the most genuine ancient library in the British Islands. Its shelves and books look as if they had not been meddled with for several centuries. The wood of the book-cases has a pale weather-worn hue. The covers of the volumes are almost all of them of vellum or forel, with the names of the authors or matters treated of in them inscribed with a pen on the back, or on the outer edge of the leaves when the book is turned on the shelf with its back inward and clasps outward. Some of the volumes are still attached by chains to the bookcases, with the con-

trivance of a small pole or rod for the shifting of the volumes some distance to the right or left along a slope for its reception when open, while in front of the slope a rude bench is fixed for the accommodation of readers.

The ponderous balustrades of the staircase leading up to the Library, the amount of timber, or lumber as we should say, in the heavy tables and stools placed here and there, the floor, the roof, the plank employed in the carpentry of the cases and closets, all indicate a period when wood was plentiful in the land.

I expected to read in Antony à Wood an enthusiastic account of Merton Library, but I was disappointed to find that he spoke of it with no especial warmth. It may be that in his day, the libraries of the other Colleges of the University all wore an aspect so like that of Merton that, in his view, it possessed no peculiarity. He chiefly bemoans certain plunderings that had taken place therein at the period of the Reformation, and previously.

However, after all, the internal arrangements of Merton Library are late as compared with the date of the foundation of the College. Notwithstanding the very quaint and antique look of everything about it, most of the fittings, we are told, are of the time of James the First. One would scarcely have imagined this, at first sight: although, as we remember, two high, thinnish, wooden arches, somewhat of a triumphal character, near the head of the staircase, forming an entrance, one of them to the north wing, the other to the east wing of the Library, exhibited a style which was post-medieval.

But this nevertheless is certain, that the two spacious rooms which now shelter the collection of books at Merton are the apartments designed and built in 1376, by Bishop Rede, of Chichester, one hundred and twelve years after the foundation of the College; and that many of the volumes still to be seen here, in manuscript, of course, are portions of the library presented to the College by the same bishop, who had been a fellow there; and it may be perhaps portions of the library of Walter de Merton himself. For it is implied in the Statutes given to the College by Walter De Merton, in 1270, that books were to be had within the walls of the building. He orders, for example, that the *Grammaticus* of the house, the Master of Grammar resident in the College, should have *librorum copia*, a plentiful supply of books for his purposes, as well as *alia sibi necessaria*. And for the reader at meal-time, he directs that

there shall be provided *aliquid quod ad scholarium instructionem te edificationem pertineat*, something that might tend to instruct and edify the scholars.

Before the construction of the Library by Bishop Rede, the books of the College would be kept in chests. Such was the custom then and later. Antony à Wood speaks of the *cistæ olim in Bibliothecâ Mertonensi repositæ*, filled with Mathematical and Astronomical works by members of the College; books, he says, *quos barbara superiorum seculorum pietas, tanquam Artis Magicæ proseminatores, reique propter eâ Christianæ damnosos, execrari non destitit*. (In the same place he speaks of the loss out of the Library, from the same cause, of the *instrumenta Mathematica, qualia sunt Astrolabia, radii, quadrantes, &c., denique integrum clarissimæ Scientiæ Armentarium*.)

Walter de Merton was born soon after 1200, and died Oct. 27, 1277. He was twice Lord High Chancellor of England: first in 1258, under Henry III.; and again in 1272, for a short time, under Edward I.; in 1274 he was made Bishop of Rochester, occupying the See only three years. A portrait of him exists in the Bodleian Library, and has been copied in Ackermann's History of Oxford. It shews a countenance of a cast modern, rather than mediæval; refined, thoughtful and intelligent; the hair and eyebrows snowy white.

As a preliminary to the foundation of his College in Oxford, he established at Malden, in Surrey, a *Domus Scholarium de Merton*, an institution which in addition to educational and other work at Malden was, in accordance with rules laid down by himself, to supply means out of its endowments for the sustenance of twenty scholars frequenting the Schools at Oxford, or anywhere else where learning for the time being might be flourishing. Then after the lapse of six years, in 1270, the *Domus Scholarium de Merton*, intended to aid in the sustenance of scholars at Oxford, is removed to that place; and a reason is implied why it was not in the first instance established there. The date 1264 is spoken of as *tempusurbationis in regno Angliæ subortæ*, an unsettled time,—as indeed it was, the struggle of the Barons with the King still going on. But now, 1270 is described as a period of peace (*nunc tempore pacis*); and therefore the *Domus Scholarium de Merton* is removed to Oxford, where the founder had desired and intended it to be. A power of removal, however, to any other locality, should circumstances so

require, was still given to the Society,—in anticipation probably of troublous times occurring again.

Nine years ago,—viz: in 1864, the memorable year of the Shakspeare Tercentenary,—the members of Merton College celebrated, on the 14th of June, the sixcentenary of the foundation of their Society. How many regions are there outside of happy England in which Societies, literary, political, or otherwise, can shew a continuous corporate existence of six hundred years?

Three hundred years before the birth of Shakspeare, the *Domus Scholarium de Merton* existed, in embryo at least, at Oxford. When the poet rambled about Oxford, as we know he did, in his journeyings between London and Stratford, and looked in at the gateways of the several Colleges, as any inquisitive stranger would do at the present day, he would, in point of antiquity, regard Merton College, the identical Merton College which we see now, as *we* should regard a building or institution founded in the middle of the reign of Elizabeth. In Shakspeare's time, the days of the king who followed next after John would seem tolerably remote, but easily grasped and reproduced with a vivid reality by such a mind as Shakspeare's, as we can see in his tragedy of King John.

But the chief point of interest about Merton College is not the antiquity of the Society of which it is the home. The great distinction of the College is this: that it was the first embodiment in Europe of a new system of training for the youth of a country—the system which has, by successive steps, developed into what is known as the English College or University system, which among the educational systems of Europe continues to be unique.

Walter de Merton is held to have been an enlightened innovator in respect of education. When he lived, what are technically called "Universities" had been instituted at different points on the continent of Europe for about fifty or eighty years (reckoning from the time of Abelard's lectures in Paris). They were incorporations of scholars and teachers, privileged by emperors, kings or popes, with peculiar jurisdiction in the towns where they were respectively situated; which towns, as a rule, became the centres of great disorder. Young people flocked in thousands to attend the lectures of this teacher and that. In this way Oxford was thronged. In the meantime, discipline was feebly maintained. Brawls and fights (battles they might even be called in some cases) were the order of

the day. The town came into collision with the gown; Welshmen, Scotchmen, North-of-England men, with their fellow-islanders, whose homes happened to be south of the Trent. Rival instructors also generated rival factions among the youth; and not alone on points of ordinary secular learning. Differences of view in regard to religious questions and matters of conventual discipline aggravated the discord. Each great monastery of the British Islands had a class of its foster-children studying at the place, and these partook of the prejudices of the houses which sustained them. Devotees of the different orders of friars were thus arrayed one against the other: Benedictines against Augustinians; Cistercians against Carmelites; Dominicans against Franciscans. The University, in fact, was dominated in 1264 by the monastic orders.

The subjects of study were nominally good and comprehensive: the seven liberal arts, as they were called: the Trivium, *i. e.*, the study of classical literature, rhetoric and dialectics; the Quadrivium, *i. e.*, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music: but almost every one of these was pursued to an extent that we should now consider only elementary, and in a spirit which we should call excessively pedantic and narrow. The logic of Aristotle, received in an abridged, condensed form, not directly from the original Greek, but through a meagre translation in Latin from the Arabic, was applied crudely to all the stock topics of discussion, theology included. And this was held to be the highest exercise of the human mind. Doubtless the gifts of intellect were distributed then as now liberally throughout communities; and, failing really rational and fruitful subjects of speculation, matters the most irrational and useless—albeit extremely ingenious and subtle—exercised the wits of clever men. Consequently, the literary remains of the period referred to, impress moderns most unpleasantly. Two dialogues of the celebrated Abelard, named above, the all-accomplished Master as he was styled in his day,—one between a Christian and a Jew, the other between a Christian and a Philosopher,—may be taken as specimens. And thus speaks one who has looked into them: “Words are wanting,” he says, “to express the utter insipidity and absence of all taste, energy or life which these spiritless compositions display: nor can we,” he adds, “concede to them the praise of being written in Latin which will bear the test of strict examination.” (*English Cyclop.*, art. ABELARD.)

When at a later date the metaphysical, physical and ethical works of Aristotle were discovered and studied,—these, with his *Logic*, read no longer in translated abstracts but in the original Greek, had a marked effect on the philosophy and science of the universities, expanding and elevating both, and purging both from several errors. (Nevertheless, at the Reformation period, Holbein, in a well-known picture, “*Christus Vera Lux*,” represents Aristotle and Plato plunging into a dark abyss, pope, cardinal, bishop and professor all following them with closed eyes, each holding on to the other.)

Oxford in 1264 was not the beautiful Oxford which is to be seen to-day—a widespread city, rendered conspicuous from afar by dome and turret and spire; remarkable, when you enter it, for streets exceeding fair and broad, traversing it in various directions, flanked every here and there with long lines of collegiate buildings, reverend and picturesque, each disclosing within its vaulted gateway, court and cloister and velvety grass-plot, hall and chapel and library; each, provided in its farther recesses with a pleasure of its own, more or less extensive, of lawns and gardens and groves, vocal with birds, fragrant with sweet-scented shrubs and flowers; tranquil paradises, scenes of trim order and comeliness, kept up from year to year with minute, unremitting care. The Oxford of 1264 was, on the contrary, a hard-featured walled town, with few contrivances for luxury or learned ease, its limited area chiefly filled with dingy hostels or lodging-houses, in which, under the melancholy tutelage of friars of orders and colours manifold, were herded at night the unkempt youth who flocked to the place from all parts of the kingdom and from abroad, and who during the day were to be seen hastening to and from the lecture-rooms of the various *doctores*; to and from the services in the several churches, thronging the narrow streets and lanes, jostling against each other and against the settled inhabitants of the place, sometimes not without mischievous intent. Mingling with the mass would doubtless be vagrants and charlatans innumerable, native and foreign, who seldom fail to find their way to places where inexperience and folly seem likely to yield a harvest.

Here then it was, amidst surroundings, animate and inanimate, such as these, that Walter de Merton commenced the great experiment which finally developed into the modern English College or University system.

We shall not enter into the discussion relating to the foundation of University College in Oxford, and Balliol, both of which in some

works on Oxford are made to take precedence of Merton in point of antiquity. A legend, now exploded, assigns Alfred the Great as the founder of University College. The real author of its existence appears to have been William of Durham, certain moneys left by whom were appropriated in 1280, and more distinctly in 1311, to the foundation of a House plainly after the pattern of Merton, so far as relates to the matter of residence. And Balliol seems to have taken the form of a College or House for the accommodation of a society of scholars in 1282. Previously, since 1268, sixteen scholars had been charitably sustained at Oxford by John de Balliol (father of John Balliol, the ill-starred King of Scotland); but no house was appropriated to their use until 1282, when, probably after the pattern of Merton again, so far as concerned residence, a building was hired for them in Horsemonger lane, afterwards called Canditch, in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene.

I now give very briefly the leading distinctive features of the new foundation of Walter de Merton, as described by those who have closely examined the original constitution of the College. These appear to have been (1) the union of a discipline resembling, without being really, the monastic, with secular studies; (2) the recognition of Education, rather than ceremonial or ritual duties, or the so-called religious, *i. e.*, monkish, life, as the proper function of the Society; and (3) the liberal provision for the future adaptation of the new system to the growing requirements of the age. (Although I possess and have read the original statutes of Merton, I prefer giving their purport and drift as summarized in an article on the Sexcentenary of 1864 in a *London Times* of the day. I make further use of the same authority below.)

The inmates of the College were to live by a common rule, under a common head; but they were to take no vows and were to join none of the Monastic orders. (As we have already seen, most of the students hitherto frequenting the University had been "sent up" by one or other of the Monastic institutions, and so were committed to the ideas of one or other of the Monastic orders.) They were to study Theology; but not until they had gone through a complete course of instruction in Arts; and they were to look forward, some of them certainly, to being secular clergy, that is, parochial clergy, as distinguished from Regulars or Monks; but many of them also to the public service of the State and the discharge of other important duties in the great lay world.

They were maintained by endowments, but the number of scholars was to increase as the value of the endowments increased; and they were empowered not only to make new statutes, but even, as we have already seen, to change their residence in case of necessity.

The effort of mind required to make such innovations, worked out as they were with remarkable foresight in details, can hardly be estimated at the present day.

Nor did the new regulations of Walter de Merton fail to produce the results intended. The Monastic orders soon began to lose their ascendancy in the University; secular learning began to gain upon the casuistry of the rival religious controversialists; the science of Medicine established itself by the side of Law; and other founders, following, as we have already in some degree seen, the wise example of Walter de Merton, and borrowing the *Regula Mertonensis*, gradually transformed Oxford from a mere seminary for monks, which it was fast becoming, into a seat of national education.

A like change in the character of Cambridge speedily took place. When St. John's College in that University first assumed the position of an educational institution, in 1280, from having been an Augustinian Hospital or Monastery, its statutes were formed after the model of those of Merton. Those of Peterhouse, likewise in the same University, were brought into conformity with the same pattern by Bishop Montague, of Ely, in 1340.

The original statutes of the College of Merton thus, as Chambers, in his History of the Colleges and Halls of Oxford, observes, affords an extraordinary instance of a matured system; and with very little alteration they have been found to accommodate themselves to the progress of science, discipline and civil economy in more refined ages.

And for many a generation Merton held the foremost place among the colleges. The brilliant catalogue of her reputed members includes some of the most illustrious names of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It may be doubtful whether Duns Scotus and Wycliffe should be numbered among them, though there are strong reasons for believing that both once resided at Merton; but Roger Bacon, the Doctor Mirabilis, Bradwardine, the Profound Doctor, and Occam, the Invincible Doctor, have always been claimed as undoubted alumni; and in later times Hooper and Jewell, the reforming Bishops; Bodley, the founder of the library bearing his name; Sir Henry Savile, founder of Lectureships in the University on Geometry and

Astronomy ; and Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood, adorned this most ancient Society. In regard to Duns Scotus, I give the testimony of Johannes ab Incarnatione, from my own folio copy of that learned friar's edition (Conimbricæ, Nonis Martii, in die Beati Thomæ Aquinatis, Anno Domini, 1609,) of the *Oxonienſe Scriptum* of Duns in *Librum primum Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi*. He says : *Is adolescens, seu fere puer, ordine Sera- phici Patris [Francisci], et regulam profiteretur Oxonii in provincia Angliæ, inibi studio artium liberalium quamprimum destinatur.* And then, after relating his removal to Paris for the study of Theology, he adds : *Inde ad suos regressus in Angliam Oxonii in Collegio Mertonensi ante annum etiam ætatis suæ vigesimum sacrae Theologiae lector instituitur. Ibi quatuor Sententiarum libros [P. Lombardi] publice est interpretatus.*

From the *Opus Magus* of Roger Bacon above mentioned, I will here add a brief utterance in the true Mertonian spirit, showing that he discerned clearly the defective condition of education as conducted by the majority of his contemporaries, and desired its reform.

"There never was such an appearance of wisdom," he says, "nor such activity in study in so many faculties, and so many regions as during the last forty years, [he is writing in the time of Walter de Merton himself,] for even the doctors [the public teachers] are divided in every state, in every camp, and in every burgh, especially through the two studious orders [Dominicans and Franciscans] ; when neither, perhaps," he continues, "was their ever so much ignorance and error. The students," he says, "languish and stupify themselves over things badly translated ; they lose their time and study : appearances only hold them ; and they do not care what they know, so much as to maintain an appearance of knowledge before the insensate multitude." And again in the same work, the *Opus Magus*, in respect of Aristotle, he ventures to express such heresy as this : "If I had power over the books of Aristotle, I would have them all burnt, because it is only a loss of time to study them, a cause of error and multiplication of ignorance beyond what I am able to explain." He refers of course to the wretched translations and abstracts which were then alone generally accessible ; but it is curious to observe that his view of the Aristotelian philosophy was strongly confirmed three centuries later by his still greater namesake, Lord Bacon, who said, after many years' devotion to Aristotelianism, that it was "a philo-

sophy only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man." (Quoted in Hill's English Monasticism, p. 409.)

I hasten now to shew a certain subtle connexion existing between Walter de Merton's College and Canada; a connexion which, when I had detected it, helped to invest Merton College, in my view at least, with such a peculiar interest.

It happens that three distinguished governors in Canada have been Merton men; and each of them has been conspicuously concerned either in the founding or else in the actual promotion of a system of University Education for the sons of the Canadian people. And it will be seen, I think, in the case of each of these Canadian rulers, that he, either consciously or unconsciously, transplanted to this side of the ocean, and handed on, so far as surrounding circumstances allowed, the Merton traditions—the Merton spirit—in relation to sound learning and wholesome knowledge.

General Simcoe was a member of Merton College. Lord Elgin was a Fellow of Merton. Sir Edmund Head was a Fellow and Tutor of Merton.

I propose to give a sentence or two from the correspondence or public declarations of each of these now historic personages, on the subject of higher Education in Canada; that you may observe for yourselves how the animus of Walter de Merton of the year 1264 still lived and breathed in each of them.

I.—I begin with portions of the correspondence of Governor Simcoe, preserved in the Parliamentary Library at Ottawa and elsewhere. Governor Simcoe was appointed to the newly-constituted Province of Upper Canada in 1791. He had previously seen much active service on this continent during the American Revolutionary war, and had become well acquainted with the character and spirit of colonial communities. Successively an officer in the 35th and 40th regiments, he afterwards had command of a provincial light cavalry corps, known as the Queen's Rangers, which became famous for its efficiency. In all accounts of the struggle for independence the name of the gallant leader of the Rangers repeatedly occurs. In 1790 he was chosen to represent the borough of St. Mawes, near Falmouth, in the county of Cornwall, in the House of Commons, in which capacity he took part in the debates on the Quebec bill in 1791. Even before his departure from England to undertake the oversight

of the virgin province, Governor Simcoe imparted to Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, his hope that he should be able to establish therein, among other means of civilization, a University. "A college of a higher class," he says to Sir Joseph, "would be eminently useful, and would give a tone of principles and of manners, and would be of eminent support to Government."

The whole letter to Sir Joseph Banks will repay perusal. We accordingly give it. The sanguine writer, it will be seen, held the opinion that British institutions might, by their evident superiority, when honestly and honourably worked, have their effect even on the United States; might ultimately even win the recently revolted colonies back to the rule of the old mother country. Every year, however, that slipped away without beginning the experiment, made the chance of such a consummation less. The letter is dated January 8th, 1791. It begins:

"SIR,—I was much disappointed that the variety of business in which my good friend Sir George Yonge was engaged, and my own avocations, prevented me from having the honour of being introduced to you, as soon as it was generally made known that I was to be appointed to the government in Upper Canada. But, sir, as it is possible that I may be hurried off, without having much time to spare, in endeavouring to procure in person, such advantages for the community I am to superintend, as must necessarily result from the great encouragement this nation under His Majesty's auspices affords to those arts and sciences which at once support and embellish our country, I am emboldened by letter to solicit that assistance from you, and on those subjects, which I venture to point out, preparatory to my return to London, when I shall hope to have the honour of frequent communication with you, and to avail myself of your ideas and patronage.

"The liberality of your character, the high station you fill, and the public principles which I apprehend that you entertain, leave upon my mind no hesitation of communicating to you, confidentially, my views, and the object which irresistibly impels me to undertake this species of banishment, in hopes that you will see its magnitude, and, in consequence, afford your utmost support to the undertaking.

"I am one of those who know all the consequence of our late American dominions, and do not attempt to hide from myself the impending calamity, in case of future war, because neither in council nor in the field did I contribute to their dismemberment.

"I would die by more than Indian torture to restore my King and his family to their rightful inheritance, and to give my country that fair and natural accession of power which an union with their brethren could not fail to bestow and render permanent.

"Though a soldier, it is not by arms that I hope for this result: it is *volentes in populo*: only that such a renewal of empire can be desirable to His Majesty; and I think, even now (though I hold that the last supine five years, and every hour that the Government is deferred, detracts from our fair hopes)—even now, this event may take place.

"I mean to prepare for whatever convulsions may happen in the United States; and the method I propose is by establishing a free, honourable, British Government, and a pure administration of its laws, which shall hold out to the solitary emigrant, and to the several States, advantages that their present form of government doth not and cannot permit them to enjoy.

"There are inherent defects in the Congressional form of government. The absolute prohibition of any order of nobility is a glaring one. The true New-England Americans have as strong an aristocratical spirit as is to be found in Great Britain; nor are they anti-monarchical. I hope to have a hereditary Council, with some mark of nobility."

He then proceeds to speak of the locality which he expected to make the heart and centre of his new community, and of the name which its chief town was to bear.

"For the purpose of Commerce, Union, and Power," he says, "I propose that the site of the Colony should be in that great Peninsula between the Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario, a spot destined by nature sooner or later to govern that interior world.

"I mean to establish a Capital in the very heart of that Country, upon the River la Tranche, which is navigable for batteaux one hundred and fifty miles, and near to where the Grand River, which falls into Erie, and others that communicate with Huron and Ontario, almost interlock. The Capital I mean to call Georgina. I aim to settle in its vicinity Loyalists who are now in Connecticut, provided that Government approve of the system. I am to have a Bishop, an English Chief Justice, &c."

He then observes that he is aware his views will be deemed chimerical by some in England. He is nevertheless confident of sympathy among many in the New England States.

"This, Sir," he says, "is the outline of my plan, and I trust it will force its way, notwithstanding what circumscribed men and self-interested monopolists may allege against it. It must stand on its own ground; for my extensive views are not what this Country is as yet prepared for, though the New England Provinces are by no means averse to them; and they are the strength of America."

And then he speaks of the alluring contrast, literary and political, which, if he can only obtain proper coöperation and help, his domain will present, when compared with the United States.

"Now, Sir," he continues to Sir Joseph Banks, "not to trespass on your time, you will see how highly important it will be, that this Colony (which I mean to shew forth, with all the advantages of British protectorate, as a better Government than the United States can possibly obtain), should, in its very foundations, provide for every assistance that can possibly be secured for the Arts and Sciences, and for every embellishment that hereafter may decorate and attract notice, and may point it out to the neighbouring States as a superior, more happy and more polished form of government. I would not, in its infancy, have a hut, nor in its maturity, a palace, built without this design.

"My friend, the Marquis of Buckingham," he next proceeds to say, "has suggested that Government ought to allow me a sum of money to be laid out for a Public Library, to be composed of such books as might be useful to the Colony. He instanced the Encyclopædia, extracts from which might occasionally be published in the newspapers. It is possible private donations might be obtained, and that it would become an object of Royal munificence.

"If any Botanical arrangement could take place [this project he knew it would be in Sir Joseph's power to promote,] I conceive it might be highly useful, and might lead to the introduction of some commodities in that country which Great Britain now procures from other nations. Hemp and Flax should be encouraged by Romulus."

Then comes the passage in which he moots the idea of a University, or College of high class, for the community which he is about to found, and to which I have already referred.

"In the literary way," he says, "I should be glad to lay the foundation of some Society that, I trust, might hereafter conduce to the extension of Science. Schools have been shamefully neglected. A College of a higher class would be eminently useful, and would

give a tone of principles and of manners that would be of infinite support to Government."

Then, after describing the surgeon who is to accompany him, and who he evidently thinks will be of use to him in conducting investigations in science, he concludes by promising to call on Sir Joseph when he comes up to town.

"Sir George Yonge," he says, "has promised my old surgeon, a young man attached to his Profession, and of that docile, patient, and industrious turn, not without inquisitiveness, that will willingly direct itself to any pursuit which may be recommended as an object of inquiry.

"I am sure, Sir, of your full pardon for what I now offer to you, from the design with which it is written; and I am anxious to profit from your enlarged ideas. I shall therefore beg leave to wait upon you when I return to London.

"I am, Sir, with the utmost respect,

"Your most obedient and faithful—

"SIR J. BANKS, Bart.,

"J. G. SIMCOE.

"President of the Royal Society.

"January 8, 1791."

From this letter it will appear that the organizer of Upper Canada fondly hoped, through British institutions honourably worked in his new province, to Anglicise the United States. He would have been amazed had he been told the day would come when the United States would Americanize the British islands. However, the policy of Governor Simcoe still in some degree governs English statesmen. We see his theory apparently pushed in our own day. For one thing, the distribution of titles of late years has increased. There are many persons in the parent state and elsewhere who expect that such distinctions, combined with the real freedom and more positive civilization and refinement resulting from British institutions within the Canadian Dominion will, if they do not in any way affect society in the United States, at least render the people of the Dominion itself so satisfied with their condition by comparison, that no desire will exist among them for amalgamation with their southern neighbours.

I next give portions of letters addressed by Governor Simcoe to Bishop Mountain, of Quebec. It will be seen from them that he had a very luminous forecast of the future of Canada, and that his plans in respect to it were those of a statesman. He several times refers to his project of a University for Upper Canada.

In a letter to the Bishop, dated Kingston, Upper Canada, April 30, 1795, he observes :

"Perhaps the constitution given to Upper Canada, however late, forms the singular exception to that want of preventive wisdom which has characterized the present times. The people of this Province enjoy the forms, as well as the privileges, of the British constitution. They have the means of governing themselves ; and, having nothing to ask, must ever remain a part of the British empire ; provided they shall become sufficiently capable and enlightened to understand their relative situation and to manage their own power to the public interest.

"Liberal education seems to me, therefore, to be indispensably necessary ; and the completion of it by the establishment of a University in the capital of the country, the residence of the Governor and the Council, the Bishop, the heads of the law, and of the general quality of the inhabitants consequent to the seat of government—in my apprehension, would be most useful to inculcate just principles, habits and manners, into the rising generation ; to coalesce the different customs of the various descriptions of settlers, emigrants from the old provinces [the United States] or Europe, into one form. In short, from distinct parts and ancient prejudices to new-form, as it were, and establish one nation ; and thereby to strengthen the union with Great Britain, and to preserve a lasting obedience to His Majesty's authority. The income contemplated for such an establishment is certainly, of itself, too contemptible to be withheld from the prosecuting of so great an object, on any views of expense."

In accordance with the usage then almost universal, he takes for granted that the professors will be clergymen ; and he desires that they shall be in the first instance Englishmen ; but he makes some shrewd distinctions : he does not desire the presence of over-refined, over-cultivated clergymen. He was acquainted with the character of the New-England people. The inhabitants of the young province of Upper Canada would be, he knew, of a similar temper, and would require to be ministered to, educationally and otherwise, by competent and earnest men indeed, but men also somewhat homely and humble-hearted. He had likewise doubtless often witnessed the bad effect of incompatibility of manners between pastors and flocks in the mother country.

"I naturally should wish," he says, "that the clergy necessary for offices in the University, in the first instance, should be Englishmen,

if possible, (conforming therein to Mr. Secretary Dundas's opinion, and indeed, in this respect, to my own). But as in an object of such magnitude no explanation can be too minute which fairly and distinctly elucidates these points, which ought not to be misunderstood, I only refer to your lordship's slight experience of the habits and manners of the American settlers, to say how very different they are from those of Great Britain; and how unlikely it is for clergymen, educated in England, with English families and propensities, habituated in every situation to a higher degree of refinement and comfort than can be found in a new country, or possibly anywhere without the precincts of Great Britain—how unlikely it is that such persons should obtain that influence with their parishioners which may effectually promote the object of their mission."

And he looks at the matter, likewise, from the politician's point of view, regarding the Church and its ministers as instruments of government.

"In the infancy of such a government as that of Upper Canada," he observes, "and in the general indisposition of these times to all restraint, it seems to be of peculiar importance to prevent the public interest, both in Church and State, from suffering through any ill-will or disregard which the King's subjects may bear to those persons who are in any manner concerned in its administration.

"On the other hand," he continues in the same strain, "I am persuaded if, at the outset, a few pious, learned men, of just zeal and primitive manners, shall be sent to this country, with sufficient inducement to make them support this honourable banishment with cheerfulness—and that in the first instance your lordship shall not too strenuously insist upon learning as a qualification for ordination, where there are evident marks of religious disposition and proofs of morality—I am confident the rising generation will be brought up competently learned and properly endued with religion and loyalty; and it is probable that they may at least be equal to those of Connecticut in this continent, whose clergy are, in general, inferior to none in those points of learning and of acquisition in the dead languages, which may be generally considered as the necessary materials and instruments of their sacred profession.

"In short, my Lord," he then adds, "if the maintenance of religion and morality be merely considered in a commercial light, as so much merchandise, the bounty which I have proposed, and most earnestly

implore may be for a while extended to it, will augment that produce on which the union of this country with Great Britain and the preservation of Her Majesty's sovereignty may ultimately depend. I am almost ashamed of using this metaphorical language, but it is that of the age."

He then gives his experience as derived from a late excursion through the settlements; and he expresses the fear, if institutions of education and religion continue to be withheld, the inhabitants will at no distant day be desirous of migrating back again to the United States.

"There has nothing," he says, "in my late progress, given me equal uneasiness with the general application of all ranks of the most loyal inhabitants of the Province, that I would obtain for them churches and ministers. They say that the rising generation is rapidly returning to barbarism. They state that the Sabbath, so wisely set apart for devotion, is literally unknown to their children, who are busily employed in searching for amusements in which they may consume that day. And it is of serious consideration, that on the approach of the settlements of the United States to our frontiers, particularly on the St. Lawrence, these people, who by experience have found that schools and churches are essential to their rapid establishment, may probably allure many of our most respectable settlers to emigrate to them, while in this respect we suffer a disgraceful deficiency."

He next alludes to some views of his in regard to the possible future restoration of unity between two religious parties subsisting in the community both of the United States and Upper Canada, and the happy political results that might accrue from such restoration. His views on this head he strongly adheres to, although he is aware they are in danger of being misapprehended.

"A principal foundation," he says, "of the wise and necessary friendship of Great Britain with these her legitimate descendants, I have heretofore pointed out, as to be deduced from the most intimate union and reconciliation between the English Episcopal Church and that of the Independent form of worship used in the New England Provinces—an emanation from the English Church, as all their authors avow, and principally originating from the harsh measures of the secular power which the English Church once exercised, but which is now no more. Though my ideas on this subject, my Lord,

were probably misunderstood, and the lukewarm spirit of the times (had I been even called on for their explanation) would, doubtless, have slighted my reasons as merely struck out in the heat of imagination, and not, as they are, the sober deductions of much thought and of personal observation, yet nothing has happened since I left England in the least to invalidate, to my own conception, the policy of the measures I then proposed; and as far as may be now in the power of His Majesty's Ministers, I most earnestly hope that what remains will be effected—that is, by giving the means of proper education in this province, both in its rudiments and in its completion, that from ourselves we may raise up a loyal and, in due progress, a learned clergy, and which will speedily tend to unite not only the Puritans within the Province, but the clergy of the Episcopal Church however dispersed, to consider with affection the Parent State, to form, corroborate and unite, within the United States, that powerful body of people who naturally must prefer the alliance of Great Britain to that of France, who are mostly members of the Episcopal Church, and on all sides to bring within its pale in Upper Canada, a very great body of denominationalists who, in my judgment, as it were, offer themselves to its protection and re-union." (He appears to have supposed that by certain relaxations on the part of the Episcopal authorities on both sides of the line, the breach between the descendants of the so-called "pilgrim fathers" and the mother-church might be healed, and a universal good will towards England throughout the North American continent be established.)

"These objects," he again repeats, "would be materially promoted by a University in Upper Canada, which might, in due progress, acquire such a character as to become the place of education to many persons beyond the extent of the King's Dominions."

As suggestive of a precedent for Government aid to his University projected for Upper Canada, he refers to the grant promised (but never made) to Bishop Berkeley for a College in Bermuda, in 1725. He also hints that the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel would do well also to patronize the undertaking, as likely to aid powerfully in carrying out the benevolent designs of the Society in regard to the aborigines of North America.

"If I recollect, my Lord," he says to Bishop Mountain, "Parliament voted £20,000 for the erection of the University proposed by Bishop Berkeley, in the Bermudas. The object, not to speak dis-

respectfully of so truly respectable a prelate, was certainly of trivial importance to what I now propose." And he adds : "The labours of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel are visionary, as applicable to the conversion of the American Indians in their present state ; but would be of most essential benefit by promoting a University, which, if placed in the part I meditate, would, in its turn, have great influence in civilizing the Indians, and, what is of more importance, those who corrupt them."

He then puts it generally to the Church of the mother country, that its members ought to assist in establishing a University in the Colony, inasmuch as such an institution would be a bulwark therein against the encroachments of dangerous principles which everywhere were endangering society. The term "minute" which he uses, was probably caught from the title of Bishop Berkeley's book, the "Minute Philosopher," directed against the free-thinkers of his day.

"The Episcopal Church in Great Britain," he says, "from pious motives as well as policy, are materially interested that the Church should increase in this Province. I will venture to prophesy its preservation depends upon a University being erected therein, as one of the great supports of true learning against the minute, the plebeian, the mechanical philosophy which, in the present day, from the successful or problematical experiments of ill professors in rational inquiries, has assumed to itself the claim of dictating in religion and morality, and, in consequence, now threatens mankind with ruin and desolation."

The old Universities of England, he suggests to the Bishop, ought also to be applied to for help.

"The Universities of England, I make no doubt," he says, "would contribute to the planting of a scion from their respectable stock in this distant colony. In short, my Lord, I have not the smallest hesitation in saying that I believe, if a Protestant Episcopal University should be proposed to be erected even in the United States, the British nation would most liberally subscribe to the undertaking."

Again, he refers to his project in a letter to Bishop Mountain, under date of "Navy Hall, October 16, 1795," thus :—"My views in respect to a University are totally unchanged ; they are on a solid basis, and may or may not be complied with, as my superiors shall think proper ; but shall certainly appear as my system to the judgment of posterity."

And once more, to the same correspondent, writing from "York," on the 28th of February, 1796 (the year of his recall), he says:

"I have scarcely the smallest hope of this Government being supported in the manner which I cannot but think proper for the national interests, and commensurate with its established constitution. In particular, I have no idea that a University will be established, though I am daily confirmed in its necessity. I lament these events, from the duty I owe to my King and country, and have only to guard, that no opinion of mine be interpreted to promise beneficial effects, when the adequate causes from which they must originate are suffered to perish or are withheld."

It will be seen, I think, from the tone of the extracts given, that Governor Simcoe, the founder and organizer of Upper Canada, either consciously or unconsciously, was a genuine son of Walter de Merton: (1) in his desire to secure in perpetuity an enlightened training in matters of religion, in manners, in science and practical knowledge, for the community which he had initiated; and (2) in his anxiety to make the institution of education which was mainly to help forward the great work, in the generations that should follow after him, comprehensive and national, aiming, with this object in view, to bring to an end, so far as in him lay, among the people over whom he presided, religious feuds, and irritating, clashing interests.

II.—I turn now to Lord Elgin, Governor-General of Canada from 1847 to 1855; who, before succeeding to the title by the unlooked-for death of an elder brother, was a Fellow of Merton College in the University of Oxford.

I have not been able to lay my hand on any reported speeches of his, having direct reference to the University of Toronto. I have been obliged on this occasion to content myself with portions of other productions of his, shewing his views in regard to high education. It will be seen from these that in a Canadian Governor again Walter de Merton had a genuine representative.

Even while yet a student, but one very near his degree, we have him offering in a private letter to his father a criticism of great weight on the working of the English University system as he found it at Oxford in 1832. His conviction, like that of Roger Bacon of Merton before him, was that education should be no thing of seeming, but as real as possible. His remarks may with advantage be borne in mind.

"In my own mind I confess," he says to his father, "I am much of opinion that college is put off in general till too late ; and the gaining of *honours*, therefore, becomes too severe to be useful to men who are to enter into professions. It was certainly originally intended that the degrees which require only a knowledge of the classics should be taken at an earlier age, in order to admit of a residence after they were taken, during which the student might devote himself to science or composition, and those habits of reflection by which the mind might be formed, and a practical advantage drawn from the stores of knowledge already acquired. By putting them off to so late an age, the consequence has been, that it has been necessary proportionably to increase the difficulty of their attainment, and to mix up in college examinations (which are supposed to depend upon study alone) essays in many cases of a nature that demands the most prolonged and deep reflection. The effect of this is evident. Those who, from circumstances, have neither opportunity nor leisure thus to reflect, must, in order to secure their success, acquire that kind of superficial information which may enable them to draw sufficiently plausible conclusions, upon very slight grounds ; and of many who have this *form* of knowledge, most will eventually be proved (if this system is carried to an excess) to have but little of the *substance* of it."

The real educational results, that is, to the nation, would be greater and better, if the merely preparatory studies of young men could be made to end earlier, and the time thus gained be converted into an interval calmly and seriously devoted to philosophic inquiry in various directions, by those intended for the professions and others having a genuine love of learning, irrespective of emolument. This is a thought which opens up a noble view of what a University might be.

At the Michaelmas examination of 1832, Lord Elgin was placed in the first class in classics, and common report spoke of him as "the best first of his year." And not long afterwards he was elected a Fellow of Merton.

In Walrond's Memoir, few letters of Lord Elgin are given of a very early date. But we are told that after leaving college, he kept up a regular correspondence on abstruse questions with his brother Frederick, still at Oxford. Some of these letters should have been given for the benefit of students.

Before his appointment to the Governor-Generalship of Canada, Lord Elgin had in Jamaica, where he was Governor in 1842, a field

for educational experiments, of the rudest kind ; to the cultivation of which he at once addressed himself.

"The object," says Mr. Walrond, "which Lord Elgin had most at heart was to improve the moral and social condition of the Negroes, and to fit them, by education, for the freedom which had been thrust upon them ; but, with characteristic tact and sagacity, he preferred to compass this end through the agency of the planters themselves. By encouraging the application of mechanical contrivances to agriculture, he sought to make it the interest not only of the peasants to acquire, but of the planters to give them, the education necessary for using machinery ; while he lost no opportunity of impressing on the land-owning class that, if they wished to secure a constant supply of labour, they could not do so better than by creating in the labouring class the wants which belong to educated beings."

This advocacy of the use of machinery with a view to promoting cultivation of mind in those who must superintend its working, is interesting. In a letter to the Colonial Minister Lord Elgin touches upon the matter himself.

"In urging the adoption of machinery in aid of manual labour," he says, "one main object I have had in view has ever been the creation of an aristocracy among the labourers themselves ; the substitution of a given amount of skilled labour for a larger amount of unskilled. My hope is," he continues, "that we may thus engender a healthy emulation among the labourers, a desire to obtain situations of eminence and mark among their fellows, and also to push their children forward in the same career. Where labour is so scarce as it is here, it is undoubtedly a great object to be able to effect at a cheaper rate by machinery, what you now attempt to execute very unsatisfactorily by the hand of man. But it seems to me," Lord Elgin then observes, "to be a still more important object to awaken this honourable ambition in the breast of the peasant, and I do not see how this can be effected by any other means. So long as labour means nothing more than digging cane holes, or carrying loads on the head, physical strength is the only thing required ; no moral or intellectual quality comes into play. But, in dealing with mechanical appliances, the case is different ; knowledge, acuteness, steadiness, are at a premium. The Negro will soon appreciate the worth of these qualities, when they give him position among his own class. An indirect value will thus attach to education.

"Every successful effort made by enterprising and intelligent individuals to substitute skilled for unskilled labour; every premium awarded by societies in acknowledgment of superior honesty, carefulness, or ability, has a tendency to afford a remedy the most salutary and effectual which can be devised for the evil here set forth."

And again he says in a despatch home, "So long as the planter despairs—so long as he assumes that the cane can be cultivated and sugar manufactured to profit only on the system adopted during slavery—so long as he looks to external aids (among which I class emigration,) as his sole hope of salvation from ruin—with what feelings must he contemplate all earnest efforts to civilize the mass of the population? Is education necessary to qualify the peasantry to carry on the rude field operations of slavery? May not some persons even entertain the apprehension, that it will indispose them to such pursuits? But let him, on the other hand, believe that by the substitution of more artificial methods for those hitherto employed, he may materially abridge the expense of raising his produce, and he cannot fail to perceive that an intelligent, well-educated labourer, with something of a character to lose, and a reasonable ambition to stimulate him to execution, is likely to prove an instrument more apt for his purposes than the ignorant drudge who differs from the slave only in being no longer amenable to personal restraint."

"It is impossible," observes the biographer of Lord Elgin, in a note on the above, "not to be struck with the applicability of these remarks to the condition of the agricultural poor in some parts of England, and the question of extending among them the benefits of education."

The same remarks might be pondered also advantageously by those who entertain the fear that a good educational training, for which such facilities exist amongst us, and for which in the future even greater will exist, will render men disinclined to, and in fact incapacitated for, the work which must be done on Canadian farms, if a home supply of food and clothing material for the population of the country is to be maintained. The probability, on the contrary, is that, gradually hereafter, the effect of a universal educational training, of a judicious kind, and not pushed beyond the point indicated by common sense, will be to render agricultural work in the highest degree inviting to a due proportion of the community; and light in numerous respects where now it is heavy and most weary to the bodily powers.

Like his predecessor, Governor Simcoe, and like Walter de Merton, Lord Elgin did not regard secular education as all-sufficient. He ever took into consideration the religious portion of men's nature. We have a clue to his principles on this point in an extract from a memorandum of his on a systematic course of study for degree, given us by his biographer. It is characteristic of the student James Bruce, and of the mature man Lord Elgin. "Ancient History," he writes, "together with Aristotle's Politics and the ancient orators, are to be read in connection with the Bible history, with the view of seeing how all hang upon each other and develop the leading schemes of Providence." The various branches of mental and moral science he proposes, in like manner, to hinge upon the New Testament, as constituting, in another line, the history of moral and intelligent development.

The sympathies of Lord Elgin, as Governor of Jamaica, as Governor-General of Canada, and as Governor-General of India, were entirely with those who believe (to adopt the words of the Vice-President of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, Mr. W. E. Forster), that, "while it is a great and a good thing to know the laws that govern this world, it is better still to have some sort of faith in the relations of this world with another; that the knowledge of cause and effect can never replace the motive to do right and avoid wrong; that . . . Religion is the motive power, the faculties are the machines; and the machines are useless without the motive power." But, as a practical statesman, Lord Elgin felt that the one kind of education he had it in his power to forward directly by measures falling within his own legitimate province; while the other he could only promote indirectly, by pointing out the need for it, and drawing attention to the peculiar circumstances of his government respecting it.

The persons in the mother country and among ourselves who maintain an agitation in favour of the educational arrangements of former centuries, ignore the facts of modern society, which have been brought into being, not without Providential supervision. It has become impossible now for governments and governors to insist on particular beliefs in communities, however possible it may have been for them to do so once, and however right and perhaps beneficial it was for them to do so then. From the necessity of the case, the modern Cæsar must confine himself to the things of Cæsar. It does not

follow that the modern Caesar is indifferent to the things of God. For the things of God, so far as man may therein co-operate, Caesar may be held to believe that other agencies more direct than his own have been ordained; and that for him it remains solely to approve and to encourage, without dictating. Walter de Merton worked out his reform in the national education of England by quietly ascending to a sphere above that occupied by "eremites and friars, black, white and gray," who sought to assert themselves in an exaggerated degree. Somewhat similarly now, in an era of intellectual and spiritual ferment, governments find it essential to just action in respect of many mundane matters, to maintain themselves at an altitude where the air is, comparatively, serene.

We have an utterance of Lord Elgin's, containing words of most wholesome drift, educationally, in a lecture to the Mercantile Library Association at Montreal, in 1848. He said: "The advantages of knowledge, in a utilitarian point of view, the utter hopelessness of a successful attempt on the part either of individuals or classes to maintain their position in society if they neglect the means of self-improvement, are truths too obvious to call for elucidation. I must say that it seems to me that there is less risk, therefore, of our declining to avail ourselves of our opportunities than there is of our misusing or abusing them; that there is less likelihood of our refusing to grasp the treasures spread out before us, than of our laying upon them rash and irreverent hands, and neglecting to cultivate those habits of patient investigation, humility and moral self-control, without which we have no sufficient security that even the possession of knowledge itself will be a blessing to us." . . . And again, in the same strain: "God has planted within the mind of man the lights of reason and of conscience, and without it [*i. e.*, outside of it] He has placed those of revelation and experience; and if man wilfully extinguishes those lights, in order that, under cover of the darkness which he has himself made, he may install in the sanctuary of his understanding and heart, where the image of truth alone should dwell, a vain idol, a creature of his own fond imaginings, it will, I fear, but little avail him, more especially in that day when the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed, he if shall plead, in extenuation of his guilt, that he did not invite others to worship the idol until he had himself fallen prostrate before it."

In a note on the above lecture, Sir F. Bruce thus writes: "A knowledge of what he [Lord Elgin] was, and of the results which he

in consequence achieved, would be an admirable text on which to engraft ideas of permanent value on this most important question [of education], as helping to shew that to reduce education to stuffing the mind with facts, is to dwarf the intelligence, and to reverse the natural process of the growth of man's mind: that the knowledge of principles, as the means of discrimination, and the criterion of those individual appreciations which are fallaciously called facts, ought to be the end of high education." (Lord Elgin had said in the lecture: "Bear in mind that the quality which ought chiefly to distinguish those who aspire to exercise a controlling and directing influence in any department of human action, from those who have only a subordinate part to play, is the knowledge of principles and general laws." In illustration, he contrasted the qualifications of the mason and carpenter, and the architect;—of the steersman, and the master of the ship;—of the merchant's clerk, and the head of the establishment.)

We now come nearer home. I select a passage from a speech on "the great and important work of providing an efficient system of general education for the whole community," delivered at Toronto, on the occasion of laying the corner-stone of the Normal School in 1851. The statesman indoctrinated with the ideas (modernized) of Walter de Merton again appears. "I do not think that I shall be chargeable with exaggeration," Lord Elgin said, "when I affirm that it is *the* work of our day and generation; that it is *the* problem in our modern society, which is most difficult of solution; that it is the ground upon which earnest and zealous men unnappily too often and in too many countries meet, not to cooperate, but to wrangle; while the poor and the ignorant multitudes around them are starving and perishing for lack of knowledge. Well, then, how has Upper Canada addressed herself to the execution of this great work? How has she sought to solve this problem—to overcome this difficulty? Sir [addressing the Rev. Dr. Ryerson], I understand from your statements—and I come to the same conclusion from my own investigation and observation—that it is the principle of our common-school education system, that its foundation is laid deep in the firm rock of our common Christianity. I understand, sir, that while the varying views and opinions of a mixed religious society are scrupulously respected, while every semblance of dictation is carefully avoided, it is desired, it is earnestly recommended, it is confidently expected and hoped, that every child who attends our

common schools shall learn there that he is a being who has an interest in Eternity as well as in time ; that he has a Father towards whom he stands in a closer, and more affecting, and more endearing relationship than to any earthly father, and that that Father is in heaven ; that he has a hope far transcending every earthly hope—a hope full of immortality—the hope, namely, that that Father's kingdom may come ; that he has a duty which, like the sun in our celestial system, stands in the centre of his moral obligations, shedding upon them a hallowing light, which they in their turn reflect and absorb—the duty of striving to prove by his life and conversation the sincerity of his prayers that that Father's will may be done upon earth, as it is done in heaven."

The successor of Lord Elgin was Sir Edmund Head, who was transferred from the government of New Brunswick to that of the whole of British North America, in 1854. Sir Edmund Head had been not only a Fellow at Merton, but also a Tutor there for several years. He had associated himself at an early period with the advocates of improvement in English education. Among the names of the Local Committee, at Oxford, in 1833, of the famous Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the president of which was Lord Brougham, is to be seen that of "E. W. Head, Esq." This indicated in Sir Edmund the possession of much moral courage. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge was in its day one of the best abused institutions in England ; but it initiated, or rather it powerfully promoted, what had already in the Providential order of things been in other ways initiated, a great change in the intellectual condition of the British nation.

Sir Edmund Head was Lord Elgin's senior by a few years, and it had curiously happened that in the examination at which Lord Elgin won his Fellowship at Merton, Sir Edmund Head had taken part—a circumstance to which Lord Elgin gracefully alluded in his farewell speech at Quebec.

As introductory to my notice of this third Merton man who has been one of our rulers in Canada, I will give the passage in which Lord Elgin, on this occasion, spoke of the gentleman who was about to succeed him in the government. It was at an entertainment given by himself at Spencer Wood, near Quebec, on the eve of his final departure, in December 1854.

"I trust," Lord Elgin said, "that I shall hear that this house [the Governor-General's residence] continues to be what I have ever sought

to render it, a neutral territory on which persons of opposite opinions, political and religious, may meet together in harmony and forget their differences for a season. And I have good hope," he adds, "that this will be the case for several reasons, and, among others, for one which I can barely allude to, for it might be an impertinence in me to dwell upon it. But I think that without any breach of delicacy or decorum I may venture to say that many years ago, when I was much younger than I am now, and when we stood towards each other in a relation somewhat different from that which has recently subsisted between us, I learned to look up to Sir Edmund Head with respect, as a gentleman of the highest character, the greatest ability, and the most varied accomplishments and attainments."

(On this is a note in Walrond's memoir: "Sir Edmund Head, who succeeded Lord Elgin as Governor-General of Canada in 1854, had examined him for a Merton Fellowship in 1833. Those who knew him will recognize how singularly appropriate, in their full force, are the terms in which he is here spoken of.")

Sir Edmund Head visited Lord Elgin, at Toronto, in 1850. A letter to Earl Grey thus opens: "Toronto, Nov. 1, 1850. Sir H. Bulwer spent four days with us, and for many reasons I am glad that he has been here. He leaves us knowing more of Canada than he did when he came. I think, too, that both he and Sir E. Head return to their homes reassured on many points of our internal policy on which they felt doubtful before, and much enlightened as to the real position of men and things in this Province."

It may reasonably be conjectured that Lord Elgin's personal regard and high esteem, united with the weight of his judgment with the home authorities, helped forward Sir Edward's advancement to the high position of Governor-General of British North America.

III.—Sir Edmund Head was not, like his predecessor, a copious and fluent orator. Hence we have not been able readily to find in the local periodicals, reports of addresses of his on the subject of education. No formal Memoir of his Life has been published. His Letters would be worth reading; especially his confidential communications with the home authorities and his English friends, on Canadian affairs as they struck him. His Public Despatches must be valuable documents.

Like some others among the more remarkable of our Canadian Governors, he was probably not fully understood by those who *ex-officio*

were his near associates in the country ; and his manner, which had a semblance of austerity, was against him. His time of life, too, when in Canada, was against him, the flexibility and sympathetic temper of youth having, in appearance, departed. He was, as I suppose, a student to the last. I remember the aspect of a small library of books which accompanied him to Toronto. It was a dingy-looking, ragged regiment of volumes, each tome shewing a large number of markers or slips of paper between the leaves, indicating passages at which the reader thought he should like sometime to look again. I had a great desire, I remember, to examine this collection.

That Sir Edmund Head was no neophyte in the modern school of enlightened Englishmen, we have already seen. The sentences which I shall now read, containing opinions of his on the subject of education in general and of Canadian education in particular, are taken from a speech delivered by him at the placing of the cope-stone on the turret of the Great Tower of the University Building, at Toronto, on the fourth of October, 1858. The report of the speech would, I think, have been the better for revision. The stenographer seems not to have caught the sense in every minute particular. One or two phraseological changes have accordingly been made. (For a full account, see the *Journal of Education*, xi., 163. It may be noted that the foundation-stone of the building had been laid exactly two years previously, without any public ceremony ; and that one year later, namely in 1859, the professors were vigorously at work in their respective lecture-rooms).

It was in response to a toast at the lunch which followed the ceremony of October 4th, 1858, that Sir Edmund Head spoke. He said : "I shall long remember the kind manner in which the Vice-Chancellor has been pleased to speak of my services in connexion with the University. It is, however, my duty to tell him, and to tell you, gentlemen, that he has greatly overrated those services." (The Vice-Chancellor, Mr. Langton, in a preceding speech, had said that "from the smallest details to the most important matters, Sir Edmund had exhibited an interest in the building ; and had it not been for him, he believed it would never have been built.") Sir Edmund then proceeded : "The good sense of the people of this country acknowledged the necessity for such a University and the advantages of the education to be afforded by it ; and I have acted only in the discharge of my duty in doing what I have been enabled

to accomplish in promoting the progress and, I hope, in consolidating the foundation of this great institution. But although," he added, "the Vice-Chancellor has overrated my merits in connexion with the institution, he has not overrated my inclination to aid it. That inclination has ever been strong, and will ever continue strong." Then in exactly the strain which we can well conceive Walter de Merton himself adopting, when contemplating the condition of the rising generation of England, in 1264, Sir Edmund continued thus: "I have a thorough conviction that academical institutions, such as are calculated to afford the means of acquiring a superior education, are of the highest value, especially in new countries. They are of value in all countries. They are of value in old countries. But in new countries, which are beset with peculiar difficulties, these results are of great importance to the whole community. Such institutions are doubly important," he said, "where the rougher constituents of society are called upon at an early age to go into the wilderness, there to earn their daily subsistence—they are doubly important in every case where it is necessary that the young men of the country should go forth with those resources which may enable them to pass their leisure free from vice and in a manner befitting a Christian and a gentleman. You have to contend with circumstances which make it doubly difficult to apply a remedy for the softening down of that surface which is necessarily more or less roughened by contact with the world, because in new countries, such as this, men are called into active life at an earlier period than in old countries, and they have not therefore the means of receiving the fullest benefit of a University education.

"It is also clear," he then went on to say, "that however sound may be the basis of classical learning—that however much you may wish to refine those with whom your lot is cast—you must rear an enduring superstructure, or the mass of the community will not be able to receive at your hands the instruction which you desire to put before them.

"I consider," he next observed, "that the instruction inculcated in a University ought to extend a practical influence over a man's life, to enable him to go forth a better citizen and more able to earn his own bread in whatever walk of life he may be placed. In order to discharge these important duties successfully, all kinds of appliances are necessary. I accordingly felt a deep conviction that

amongst the means most essential to the future welfare of the University of Toronto, was that of a building alike worthy of the city in which the University is situated, and of the University itself. Such a building," he said, "was greatly needed, and I did not hesitate, as the Visitor, to sanction the outlay of the money necessary for the erection of the present structure. In so doing I felt convinced that the results would fully justify the step then taken."

He then enlarged on the benefits likely to result from the existence of such a structure as the one which had been erected. "Such a building," he said, "is important in many respects. There is a general disposition to depreciate that of which there is no outward, visible sign. The existence of a building like this, of an important character, commensurate with the growth of the University itself, tends to remove such an impression; and in the next place the appliances connected with the building are of first-rate importance, not only to the pupils of the University, but also to the community amongst whom the University is situated." He instanced the Library. "A few months," he said, "or at most a year or two, may pass, and the room in which we are now assembled will be filled with volumes of books; and in this room the citizens of Toronto, whether they are or are not members of the University, may, if they choose, seek recreation and information."

He then remarks on the influence likely to be exerted by the University Library. The ancient Library of Merton, it may be, passed at the moment through his thoughts. It is worthy of remembrance here, that not only was Merton College the prototype of English colleges, but Merton Library, the quaint old relic of the past which we have described, was the prototype of English college libraries—the first example of such an institution. It is interesting to hear the testimony of a former Fellow and Tutor of Walter de Merton's Society borne to the incalculable value of such a possession—borne on the occasion of the establishment of a similar Library some six hundred years after Walter de Merton's day, in Canada; in a region of the earth then undreamt of.

"The influence of such a library as this," Sir Edmund Head said, "is a most important matter. It is not only so with regard to what the young men take away, but it is so in its general humanizing spirit—in the feeling of respect for literature which grows by the possession of such an institution as this." He then observed on the Museum: "In regard also to another room which we have just left—

the Museum—I shall hope to see collected there such remains as may from time to time be found, and which would otherwise be scattered about and lost, of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country—remains,” Sir Edmund added, “which my friend Professor Wilson is as well able to conserve and explain as any man I know. And again, in Natural History ; a museum of that sort, constantly open for the reception of specimens, affords the certain prospect of the accumulation of that which is of the utmost importance in the history of science. And you have amongst you,” the Governor took occasion to add, “men, such as Professors Hincks and Chapman, who are in every way qualified to occupy a high position in this branch of science.

“Another feature in connection with this building,” Sir Edmund Head then said, “which I look upon as of great importance, is that of providing accommodation within the walls of the College for some portion of the students. [An especial feature and peculiarity in the innovations of Walter de Merton, in 1264, was residence within the College walls. Previously, scholars attending the lectures of the jangling doctors were lodged very promiscuously in the streets and lanes of a confined mediæval walled town.] This,” Sir Edmund observed, “is undoubtedly one of the most powerful means of forming the character, and maintaining, through the influence of College discipline, that decorum and that sense of propriety with which you would wish to see the pupils leave the walls of the institution.”

He then goes on to remark on the architecture of the building, and to interpret, in an interesting manner, its significance.

“I do not know,” he says, “that the time would allow me to go more into detail on the points connected with the building as bearing upon the success of the University itself. I cannot, however, sit down without adding a few words in reference to the character of the building. I congratulate the architect,” he said, “for having dealt with the structure in the successful manner he has done. I congratulate him, inasmuch as I believe he was the first to introduce this style of building into the American continent. So far as my knowledge extends, I am not aware of any other instance of the Norman or Romanesque style of architecture on the continent. There may be such instances, but I know of none.

“I believe that style,” the speaker then went on to say, “is capable of the most useful results. To my own mind it suggests a variety

of analogies, some of them bearing particularly on the nature of the duties of the members of the University here assembled. In the first place, I never see a building of this style of architecture—whether it be ecclesiastical or civil—but I regard it as a type of modern civilization. It is the adaptation to modern purposes of forms which originated long ago—it is the adaptation of Roman architecture to modern civilization. Where did you get these forms? Where did you get the processes which give birth to municipalities—those municipalities which, under different names, are spreading over the continent of America, carrying the principles of local self-government with them? They are from Rome, from whence comes this Romanesque architecture; they are the adaptation of forms derived from Rome to the wants of modern society. Many things in modern Europe are,” he added, “precisely analogous to the style of the building in which we are this evening assembled. I will say, moreover,” he continued, “that the style of the architecture of this building suggests some reflections upon the duties of the University itself; for it is the business of the University to give a sound classical education to the youth of our country, and to impart to them that instruction and information which are essential to the discharge of their duties as citizens, both in public and private life, according to the wants and usages of modern society. I say, sir, we may take the building in which we are assembled as the type of the duties standing before the University to discharge.”

It should be added, that previous to the ascent of the great gateway tower, for the purpose of placing the cope-stone on the apex of its turret, Sir Edmund Head, in the true Mertonian spirit of the olden time, had addressed the assemblage present with the words: “Before proceeding to the work, let us join in supplicating the Divine blessing;” when an appropriate prayer was said by the President of the University, the Rev. Dr. McCaul.

Thus have I endeavoured to occupy your attention, for a short space, with three distinguished Governors of Canada, who were sometime members or fellows of Merton College in Oxford, and who, in relation to the higher education of the Canadian people, shewed themselves, by their words and deeds, worthy descendants of the enlightened Walter de Merton, of the reign of Henry III. Canadians, when they visit Oxford, remembering these things, will, I am sure, look with an added interest on Merton College, for the sake of

men who once had their habitation temporarily within its venerable walls, but who now have become inseparably associated with the history of Canada, from having been the means of transferring hither traditions and ideas and solid institutions which, by an imperishable link, will in all future time unite Canadian scholars with Oxford—with the Oxford of to-day, and strangely likewise with the Oxford of 1264.

We may possibly have had other rulers in Canada who were once members of Merton, or members of some other of the twenty-five colleges or halls of Oxford; but we are not aware of any who have so fully delivered themselves, as the three spoken of, on the subject of University education as adapted to Canada.

Sir Charles Bagot was a member of Christ Church in the University of Oxford; and his was the hand that actually laid the foundation-stone of King's College, out of which University College and the University of Toronto have grown. But we doubt whether his views on University education were quite of a character adapted to the condition of this particular country. He certainly in no way qualified his approbation of the charter of the Canadian National University as it read in 1842. Perhaps it was not his business to do so. He said: "I have ever considered the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge as the breasts of the mother-country. From them has been derived," he rather sweepingly observes, "all the comforts of pure and social religion—all that is useful and beneficial in science—all that is graceful and ornamental in literature. These same blessings," he then adds, "unless I greatly deceive myself, we have, under Providence, this day transplanted into these mighty regions. There may they continue from generation to generation! There may they serve to instruct, enlighten and adorn your children's children through ages yet unborn, as they have for many ages past the children of our parent state."

And on the plate inserted in the foundation-stone it was set forth in admirable Latin, that "It was the desire of our illustrious Chancellor (*i. e.*, Sir Charles Bagot) that the youth of Canada should, within their own borders, enjoy without delay, and transmit to posterity, the benefits of a religious, learned, and scientific education, framed in exact imitation of the unrivalled models of the British Universities." (*Voluit vir egregi* *Canada statim esset ubi*
Juventus, Religionis, Doctrinæ, Artiumque Bonarum Studiis et

Disciplina, præstantissimum ad exemplar Britannicarum Universitatum imitando expressis, ipsa jam frueretur, eademque posteris fruenda traderet.)

The Charter, indeed, of King's College, in 1842, was held and declared by its friends to be an unusually liberal one, considering the time in which it was granted, and the source whence it emanated. On the day of the opening of the Institution, it was stated by the President, Dr. Strachan, that "the Charter of the University of King's College was not hastily settled. It was nearly a whole year under serious deliberation. It was repeatedly referred to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Manners, who doubted the propriety of assenting to an instrument so free and comprehensive in its provisions. It was considered," the President proceeded to say, "not only the most open Charter for a University that had ever been granted, but the most liberal that could be framed on constitutional principles; and His Majesty's Government declared that in passing it they had gone to the utmost limit of concession." The unprecedented liberality of the Royal Charter consisted in the declaration: "No religious test or qualification shall be required of, or appointed for, any persons admitted or matriculated as scholars within our said College, or of persons admitted to any degree in any Art or Faculty therein, except Divinity."

That it should have been thought, however, that this concession would suffice to render all the other provisions of the Charter acceptable to a community like that of Canada, fills the mind with amazement. The President was at all times to be the Archdeacon of York *ex-officio*. The Council was to consist of the President and seven Professors, who were also, for all time, to be members of the Established United Church of England and Ireland.

I am not now saying anything to the contrary but that all these arrangements would have resulted in a system very efficient; I am simply expressing astonishment, that with a perfect knowledge of the composition of the Canadian people, recruited annually from complex communities like those of the British Islands, it should have been for a moment supposed that in all future time such arrangements as these could be maintained in an institution held to be provincial and quasi-national.

The cautious terms in which the House of Assembly of Upper Canada returned their thanks to the Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, when he announced to them the Royal boon of a University

Charter, are very noteworthy. They professed great gratitude to the King, provided "the principles upon which it (the contemplated institution) had been founded should, upon enquiry, prove to be conducive to the advancement of true learning and piety, and friendly to the civil and religious liberty of the people." They plainly had their doubts. From rumours afloat they feared some peril latent in the Royal gift; and, rightly or wrongly, they determined that the youth of the country should not be forced by any power into a training school controlled by any class exclusively.

This, in principle, was the protest of Walter de Merton when, in 1264, he innovated on the prevailing system of education at Oxford, and delivered his little band of scholars out of the hands of the warring Friars. The framers of the Charter of the Canadian King's College of 1842, chose only to contemplate Society as it was, or rather as it had been in years bygone, when in a condition of greater perfection, as they would perhaps have contended.

The plain representatives of the people of Upper Canada, in the House of Assembly, on the other hand, by a shrewd instinct, kept their regards fixed more on the present, more on things as they were among themselves. They were, they knew, a mingled multitude drawn from numerous sources, all accustomed to liberty and notions of equality, desirous, however, of dwelling together in peace; and such a people they were likely to be in the years to come, increasingly. Having, then, the power, they determined by law to abate in time pretensions that must prove finally untenable in whatever quarter they might make their appearance.

The *Regula Mertonensis*, the Merton rule—adopted in all Colleges more or less, and so speedily revolutionizing the University system, in Great Britain at least—was a sign that, in the history of Great Britain, a new era was beginning, with peculiar and increased requirements. Ever since 1264 the spirit of Walter de Merton has been marching on; and he must be obtuse indeed, who does not see that the expansions, the modifications, the changes generally, which are at the present time being advocated, and indeed being gradually adopted in regard to education in all its branches, are, whether we like them or not, the requirements of a new age—requirements of the generations of men who are to succeed us, and who are destined, as we trust and believe, to enjoy—under the superintendence of a benign Providence—blessings of mind, body, and estate, greater even than those which have fallen to the lot of ourselves or our forefathers.